1: Tennessee--Bib E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 F103 Fang F89

8. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 111 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 223). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text./ It is therefore probable that the ancestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

• [274]

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

181 This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
131 mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngovo, and the Koombe.

114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
179 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Tambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsings and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

113 Language. See:

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
131 176,000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 20 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12,583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
● 114 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
●174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the
101 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
197 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the conclusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
101 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

Bafŏk-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafŏk and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

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113

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TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: $11^{o}20$ to $11^{o}50$ long. and from south to north: $3^{o}35$ to $3^{o}50$ north lat. near Yaoundé $4^{o}15$ to $4^{o}40$ north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

4: Dugast--14 S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 174 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefcre become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

197
174 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

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"Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

[137] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

● 174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Pahouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is +0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

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173 Von Stein. "Bericht über die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1, 728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96, 216 inhabitants; 9. 59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12, 987 inhabitants; 7. 5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1, 407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

● 174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 489 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

133 River and is watered by its tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Yesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Tédé; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

161 Human Geography. Population: Yesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants

Densities: Yesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

• 174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Yesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /85/ peoples. Some saw a Yesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Yesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chauleur states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nanga-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Yesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Yesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

To go back to G. Tessmann's classification—which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data—we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Yesum and Bulu-Yesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 15/

In the midst of the Yesum is the settlement of the Yemfang, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chauleur was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Yesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

174 1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /867

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

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THE YEKABA

101 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

131 Physical and Human Geography

161 Area: about 1, 602 square km.
Population: 14, 500 inhabitants
Density: 9. 2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

101 The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba, " concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region. " (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

114 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 491 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 163 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2,472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1, 950 square km.
161 Population: 23, 291 inhabitants
Density: 11. 9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

●174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is 133 in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

●174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

● 174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

● 174 must have been about 1850. (3) At the extreme end of their push

3. Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête Historique [Report of the Commission of Historical Inquiry], Libreville, 1949.

they reached the Setté-Cama region (near Sounga Lagoon) about 1890, (4) having been attracted by the trading stations that were

4. Archives de Gabon, rapports du Poste de Setté-Cama [Archives of Gabon, Reports of the Setté-Cama Post].

then there.

Originally, this great human movement occurred as a repercussion of the push of the victorious Peul (pl. Foulbé) into the Cameroons during the second half of the eighteenth century, (5)

5. Dugast, op. cit. and a general survey: "Essai sur le peuplement du Cameroun [Essay on the Population of the Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camerounaises, 21-22, 1948.

which forced the savanna population toward the forest zone. (6)

6. J. Despois, "Les genres de vie des populations de la forêt dans le Cameroun oriental [Types of Life of the Peoples of the Forest of the Eastern Cameroons], "Annales de Géographie, 297, 1946.

Most of the legends place the original country inhabited by the Fang very far to the northeast, a country which has an entirely different fauna from that of Gabon and which is peopled by white men using horses and skilled in iron work. (7) The arrival in the

7. Cf. Trezenem, op. cit.

174 forest region was symbolized by the legend told of the adzap (aža mbura) hole, referring to the obligation of all migrating groups [75] to pass through a hole dug in the adžap tree. Some of the educated Fang of the present day lay stress on the origins as reported by tradition, stressing the linguistic kinship between the Fang and Zandé dialects, (1) thus linking them to the civilizations of the

1. Kinship recognized by L. Homburger, Les Langues negro-africaines [Negro-African Languages], Paris, 1941, p. 35.

Upper Nile (and from there perhaps to Egypt), recalling the period when their ancestors were dressed "exactly like the Haoussa." (2)

2. In the modern version of the legend relating to the Ndong tribe (dispersed in Woleu-N'Tem).

This more or less explicit desire to give themselves "noble" origins corresponds to the more or less conscious desire of the Fang to force themselves on the forest populations of Gabon.

174 101 It is necessary to examine precisely the distribution of the Fang throughout Gabon, and to recall their relations with the neighboring territories of the Cameroons and Spanish Guinea. The first classification attempted by early authors (3) was a division into

3. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le pays Pahouin [Studies on the Pahouin Country]", (dating from 1912), Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, No. 14, 1931; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, June 25, 1938.

"lands": Betsi land (region north-northwest of the Estuary, overlapping Spanish Guinea); Maké land (region southwest of the

174 Estuary and Ogooué-Ivindo), Ntoum land (region north of Woleu-
101 N'Tem, overlapping the Cameroons). This simplified division does not take into account all the groups existing in Gabon, and does not indicate the overlappings between tribes which occur in each of the "lands" where there is constant migratory movement. Moreover, these names have barely survived. (4) They have been

4. Maignan, nearly fifty years ago, considered such a division fictitious.

obliterated by the general designation of "Fang" and by specific names (of tribe or clan, especially of family lines) representing local reality. One might think from certain statements of G. Tessmann and I. Dugast (5) that these names have mostly denoted

5. G. Tessmann, Die Pangwe [The Pangwe], 2 vols., Berlin, 1913; I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique [Ethnical Inventory], chapter devoted to the Pahuin.

migratory groups that have dominated and assimilated various foreign groups and have thus acquired certain distinctive cultural characteristics.

Father Trilles asserts in a study published in 1912 that similar distinctions can be explained "from the point of view of dialects [78] and not from that of the customs or habits (which) are exactly the same." (1) But the dialectal variants themselves which appear

1. Father H. Trilles, Le Totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism among the Fang], Bibliothèque Anthropos, Vol. 1, fasc. 4, 1912, p. 12.

notably at the level of the names of clans (beginning with Esa, Esé, Esi, ... in the case of the Betsi; with Eba, Ebi ... in the case of the Maké) have become blurred. At the time of the migrations several groups changed their clan name, having become

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo.(2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-faⁿ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone faⁿ, bo' be faⁿ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104]

1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Faⁿ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ôwôndo) is not used.

(vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, faⁿe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

174 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group.
583 The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

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/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zô na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[197]

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zô/ki (or jə̂/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[177]

101 very rightly points out that the problem is visibly complicated by the existence of reciprocal influences. I therefore suggest, with many reservations, an empirical classification based on the geographical position of the various tribes, the dialectical differences, and the reconcilable portions of traditions and genealogies, all together.

Thus there may be distinguished:

in the south: a Fang group, in the rather broad sense
in the north: a Beti group, perhaps more Pahounized than Pahouin
between the two: a Boulou group /6/

a) The Fang group in the south would include:
the Fang, properly so called, of the Ogooué Valley in the southern Cameroons
the Ntoumou (or Ntum) in northern Gabon (Woleu-N'Tem), Spanish Guinea and the southern Cameroons (Ambam subdivision)
the Mvaé, split into two blocks, to the east and west of the Ntoumou
perhaps the Osyéba of the Ogooué-Ivindo region, nowadays merged with the eastern Fang

b) The Boulou group would include:
the Boulou of the Sangmélima, Kribi, and Ebolowa (Cameroons) regions
no doubt the Zaman of the valley of the Dja
probably the Yengono, Yembama, and Yelinda of the Nyong Valley and the Okak of Spanish Guinea
perhaps the Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo /misprinted in text as Yekebolo/, and Mvélé (1)

1. The last, in spite of the similarity of name, are to be distinguished from the Bamvele or Bele and are to be connected with the Beti.

[MY] The situation of the Beti is more obscure. They may perhaps have had a different origin from the true Pahouin, whom they would have followed in their migration toward the southwest. A striking cultural and linguistic likeness to the Fang is observed among certain tribes who are nevertheless separated from them geographically by the Boulou. This likeness disappears progressively as one moves northward. It might therefore be a question of some sort of intermediary

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewŏndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Banĕ of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbanĕ and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundĕ, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewŏndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 ●174 563 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.

[197] a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewŏndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Baboutĕ /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoĕ) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

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east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboute /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

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FH 83

Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

174 the Marquis de Compiègne, and later Largeau, speak more moderately of a relationship with the Zandé /Azande/ and Mangbetu of the upper Ubangi, which remains hypothetical.

In fact, the only reasonable certainty we have on this subject, based on traditions, genealogies (for 15 to 20 generations, becoming more or less mythical at the tenth or twelfth), and the observations of the first travelers (notably Du Chaillu) and of European and American missionaries, is that the migration which is now coming to a close must have begun toward the end of the eighteenth century in a savanna area on the right bank of the Sanaga, somewhere to the northeast of the group's present habitat. Would this have been on the upper Sangha, toward Bouar, the region of Baïbokoum, more to the north, or on the Adamawa toward N'Gaoundéré? In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to determine this. Traditions simply speak of an area "toward the east" (mfa' ôku) in a high region of lakes, where there were lions (ngbwemgbwem) and, according to Trilles, rhinoceros (abvi —?), near a "red" people.

The ancestors of the Pahouin were driven from this habitat by an invasion. Did this involve the Fulbé /Fulani/ of Othman dan Fodio or one of his successors? Some points in the tradition allow us to think so, but the present distribution of tribes north of the Sanaga and their /14/ own traditions would indicate rather that those in question were the Baboute (Wutéré) and perhaps the Mboum /Mbum/, themselves fleeing before the Fulbé.

However that may be, the ancestors of the Pahouin must have crossed the Sanaga in several waves, approximately between Nanga-Eboko and the confluence of the M'Bam, on one side and the other of the Nachtigal Falls. The first waves must have included the ancestors of the Fang and Boulou who went deep into the forest under pressure from the Beti, of whom a handful remained on the right bank.

The spearhead of the migration seems to have divided into three columns somewhere near Bengbis (subdivision of Sangmélima). It was perhaps at this time that the present tribal divisions were determined. A Fang column headed southward, doubtless penetrating into Gabon following the Dja, then the Ivindo. A second column, mainly Boulou, headed westward, parallel to the course of the Nyong, while a third, Ntoumou and Fang, reached into northern Gabon, following an axis that pretty nearly bisected the angle of the other two.

174 This penetration was not at all peaceful: the echo of battles with the Bantu of the interior reached as far as the trading posts on the coast, and the terror spread by the invaders did not fail to hinder commercial relations. Du Chaillu met the Fang and the Ntoumou near Mitzic, the Osyéba on the Ivindo at the beginning of the Second Empire /1852-54/. In 1869, Admiral de Langle reported them in contact with the trading stations of the upper Ogooué, estimating their numbers at about 50, 000. In 1875, the Marquis de Compiègne and Aloysius Horn met them at Lambaréné and in the immediate neighborhood of Libreville. Brazza was to aid their march toward the coast and the lower Ogooué, which they would reach in 1893 (Largeau). Since then their advance has continued at a slower pace, partly on the left bank of the Ogooué, to the south off N'Djolé, partly along the coast as far as the Fernan-Vaz lagoon.

For their part, the Boulou have had less luck; they were halted in their progress toward the sea by the Germans around 1890, when they were not more than 30 kilometers from the coast, to the southeast of Kribi. A last war—the ôban, still living in present-day memory—faced them, between 1885 and 1895, with the Bané who sought to spread toward the south. After 1895, they were practically fixed in their present area (but not in the exact sites of contemporary villages) just like the Beti.

Although I have spoken of columns, it is not necessary to represent these migrations as the exodus of the children of Israel across the desert. They were rather by successive leaps, following a general axis, by small family or/and village groups. One could speak of their design of migration as leapfrog: family A is settled; family B establishes a village further south; family C occupies the former territory of B; /a part of/ A then breaks off and /sets up/ a village, A; south of B; next B would act in the same way when A, under pressure from C, /15/ would again move mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea," which is left the final goal. This, multiplied hundreds of times, brings about the extreme scattering of family groups, extended families, and clans, at the same time as /did/ the eddies and whirlpools which explain the present confusion. Whole groups have turned back on their steps, after a military defeat or to avoid contact with the European administration; thus, the Ntoumou of northern Gabon have in part been driven back to the north of the N'Tem by a recoil of the Fang, driving back toward the east and west, along the valley, the Mvaé

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505] axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users [487] of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather [361] than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533] [538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikaña,

territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war, for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

The tribes vary in importance according to the level of development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

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He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

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c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1), to pray, adore,

> 1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and lko, hook, whence akõñ, hooked, barbed spear.

sua, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

174 171 who offers the victim but also the priest who alone was authorized to make an offering, and without his intervention, his subjects could not expect heaven to accept their offerings, even the most modest. "Suten don hotep" -- The king gives the offering, can be read on innumerable votive monuments, from the most imposing to the humblest. The deity would not pay attention to the offering if it did not come from the king. I recall the prince of Khéta's words which I have already quoted: "God would not accept any offering of Khéta that had not been seen by Pharaoh, the emanation of heaven."

Mediator between heaven and earth, Pharaoh alone is qualified to give to the Deity or to receive His gifts. If another priest takes his place, as for practical reasons nearly always happens, that priest will be acting as a delegate of the king and will announce the royal order by which he has access to God: "It is the king who sends me to see the deity," says he upon opening the gates of naos [sic]. Even a priest of the highest rank may present himself only by virtue of that delegation. To penetrate all the way to the temple sanctuary is in fact like penetrating heaven, (1) for the deity is there as much as in

> 1. An inscription at Edfou, quoted by Rochemonteix, reads: "He who penetrates the temple penetrates heaven."

heaven: to approach the deity one must be divine oneself, like a son of Pharaoh or at least a representative of this divine Son. God's house, the temple, was built by Pharaoh himself, (2) the

> 2. Virey: Religion de l'ancienne Égypte [The Religion of Ancient Egypt] (ed. 1909), p. 125.

sole owner of Egyptian soil by a divine gift made at his coronation. (3)

> Cf. Lefébure, Rites Egyptiens [Egyptian Rites], where one will find numerous points of comparison with the rites I have mentioned. [545]

171 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the
• 174 following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

614 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvèn, esamvùn, etc.).

d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage

648 622 Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should be made,